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Message Text

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SSM-03 HA-05 CIAE-00
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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2977
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
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AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PEPR, IS, US, EG, JO
SUBJECT: DAYAN BREIFS MFA ON WASHINGTON TALKS

1. SUMMARY: DAYAN TOLD TOP MFA OFFICIALS THAT THE CONVEYED IN WASHINGTON THREE "MUSTS" OF GOI POLICY CONCERNING THE WEST BANK: (1) THE IDF MUST REMAIN THERE PERMANENTLY, (2) ISRAELIS MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SETTLE THERE AND (3) THEY MUST HAVE UNRESTRICTED MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WEST BANK. HE SAID HE HAD CALLED ON VANCE TO ASK CAIRO WHETHER IT WAS READY TO CONCLUDE A PEACE FOR THE EASTERN FRONT AS WELL AS THE SINAI FRONT, AND IF NOT, WHETHER TI WOULD SIGN A SEPARATE PEACE. CONCERNING A FUTURE REFERENDUM, DAYAN INDICATED ISRAEL MIGHT CONSIDER A VOTE THAT OMITTED THE CHOICE OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE
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AND NOTED THAT VANCE HAS ASKED ISRAEL TO PROPOSE AN ALTERNATIVE IF A REFERENDUM WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE. HE SAID THE U.S. DID NOT REJECT ISRAEL'S SELF-RULE PLAN FOR THE WEST BANK NOR THE ANCILLARY FOUR-PARTY COMMITTEE THAT WOULD CONSIDER CHANGES AFTER A FIVE-YEAR INTERVAL. HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH THE AMERICANS THE PROBLEM OF ARAB MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE WEST BANK AND ISRAEL AS WELL AS THE PROBLEM OF

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PALESTINIAN REFUGEES IN THE NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. DAYAN
THOUGHT THE PROBLEM OF JERUSALEM'S FUTURE HAD BEEN EXAGGERATED
AND DECLARED THAT HE CHOSE THE APPROACH OF TACKLING SUBSTANCE
INSTEAD OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BECAUSE DEBATE OVER
THE LATTER WAS INTERFERING WITH PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
END SUMMARY.

2. ALL PAPERS TODAY FEATURE A BACKGROUND BRIEFING
FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN GAVE ON HIS WASHINGTON TALKS
TO MFA DEPARTMENT HEADS, ISRAELI AMBASSADORS-DESIGNATE, AM-
BASSADORS ON HOME LEAVE AND MEMBERS OF THE SHOVAL ADVISORY
COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION. THE JERUSALEM POST'S STORY BY
ASHER WALLFISH WAS BY FAR THE MOST DETAILED AND COMPREHENSIVE
AND WE PASS ALONG ITS COMPLETE TEXT (BELOW). WALLFISH
TOLD US PRIVATELY THAT HE COMPILED THE ARTICLE BY PIECING
TOGETHER TWO SEPARATE RADIO VERSIONS OF THE BRIEFING
(ONE BY ISRAEL RADIO AND THE OTHER BY THE IDF STATION)
AND SHOWING IT TO TWO OFFICIALS WHO HAD BEEN PRESENT.
WALLFISH SAYS THEY MADE SOME MINOR CHANGES AND ADDED A
GREAT DEAL. HE ALSO TOLD US THAT THE MFA'S DENIAL
OF THE ISRAEL RADIO REPORT (THAT DAYAN SUGGESTED EGYPT
ENTER INTO SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE WEST BANK
WITHOUT WAITING FOR JORDAN'S PARTICIPATION) WAS "PURE
RUBBISH." (COMMENT: THE MFA'S QUICK DENIAL WAS APPARENTLY
PROMPTED BY EMBARRASSMENT OVER THE LEAK.) END LOU

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3. BEGIN UNCLASS ACCORDING TO THE MUCH SHORTER HAARETZ
ARTICLE (BENZIMAN), DAYAN FELT AS LITTLE CONCERNED THAT
JERUSALEM MIGHT BE DIVIDED AGAIN AS HE WAS OVER THE POSSIBILITY
THAT THE WEST BANK WOULD BE SEPARATED FROM GAZA.
HE ALSO CLAIMED THAT HE GOUND AN ATTENTIVE EAR IN WASHINGTON
TO HIS ARGUMENT THAT 242 WAS AN ADEQUATE COLLECTION
OF PRINCIPLES FOR A SETTLEMENT AND THEREFORE AN ISRAEL-
EGYPTIAN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WAS SUPERFLUOUS AND
WOULD ONLY FURTHER COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

4. BEGIN TEXT OF POST ARTICLE: FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE
DAYAN YESTERDAY SPECIFIED THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS
OF ISRAEL'S POLICY ON JUDEA AND SAMARIA: THE ISRAEL DEFENCE
FORCES MUST REMAIN THERE PERMANENTLY, ISRAELIS SHOULD
HAVE THE RIGHT TO BUY LAND AND SETTLE THERE, AND ISRAELIS
SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT OF UNRESTRICTED MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT
JUDEA AND SAMARIA.

5. DAYAN--WHO SAID HE STRESSED THESE FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS
IN LAST WEEK'S CONVERSATIONS IN WASHINGTON WITH U.S.
SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE--WAS REPORTING ON HIS
WASHINGTON TALKS TO THE HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS IN THE

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FOREIGN MINISTRY.

6. OUTLINING SOME OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH HAD ARISEN WHEN HE DISCUSSED WITH VANCE THE SUBSTANCE OF POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS WITH EGYPT INSTEAD OF THE PROPOSED DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, DAYAN SAID THAT THEY HAD GONE INTO THE ALTERNATIVES REGARDING THE STATIONING OF THE IDF IN MILITARY CAMPS, THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN DEFENDING FRONTIERS WHEN THE DEMARCATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE AUTONOMOUS ARAB AREA WAS NOT CLEAR, AND THE PROCEDURES WHEREBY THE IDF SHOULD BE CALLED IN TO RESTORE ORDER IN ARAB LOCALITIES IN THE AUTONOMOUS AREA.

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7. DAYAN REPORTED CALLING UPON VANCE TO ASK THE EGYPTIAN LEADERS WHETHER THEY WERE WILLING TO REPRESENT THE ARAB SIDE IN NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE FUTURE OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA STRIP, AND WHETHER EGYPT WAS WILLING TO CONCLUDE A PEACE WITH ISRAEL, WHICH IT WOULD GUARANTEE AS VALID FOR THE EASTERN FRONT AS WELL AS THE SINAI FRONT.

8. IF EGYPT WOULD NOT GIVE THAT GUARANTEE, THE QUESTION

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WAS WOULD IT INSTEAD BE READY TO SIGN A SEPARATE PEACE
WITH ISRAEL?

9. THERE WAS A CERTAIN LOGIC, DAYAN DECLARED, IN THE
EGYPTIANS REPRESENTING THE ARABS OF JUDEA, SAMARIA AND GAZA,
BECAUSE UNTIL 1967 EGYPT HAD RULED OVER ONE-THIRD OF
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THAT TOTAL POPULATION WHEN IT CONTROLLED THE GAZA STRIP.

10. DAYAN SAID THAT ONE OF THE QUESTIONS POSED BY
VANCE WAS HOW DID ISRAEL PROPOSE CREATING A VEHICLE
WHEREBY THE ARABS OF THE AUTONOMOUS JUDEA, SAMARIA AND
GAZA WOULD VOICE THEIR ASPIRATIONS IN FIVE YEARS TIME,
ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT ISRAEL OBJECTED TO HOLDING A
REFERENDUM FOR THAT PURPOSE?

11. IT WAS CONCEIVABLE, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID,
THAT ISRAEL WOULD DISCUSS THE APPLICABILITY OF A REFERENDUM
WHICH WOULD NOT CONTAIN THE CHOICE OF A SEPARATE PALESTINE
STATE, BUT WHICH WOULD CONTAIN SUCH CHOICES AS A LINK TO
JORDAN, A FEDERATIVE LINK TO ISRAEL, OR THE MAINTENANCE
OF THE STATUS QUO FOR A FURTHER PERIOD OF AUTONOMY.

12. ISRAEL'S AUTONOMY OFFER MEANT ABOLISHING THE MILITARY
GOVERNMENT APPARATUS TOTALLY, HE SAID. THE BUILDINGS AND
OTHER PROPERTIES USED BY THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT COULD THEN
BE HANDED OVER TO THE POLICE FORCE OF THE AUTONOMOUS AREA.

13. DAYAN SAID ISRAEL SAW IT AS QUITE LOGICAL TO MAINTAIN
THE RIGHT OF MILITARY INTERFERENCE TO RESTORE PUBLIC ORDER.
AFTER ALL, HE SAID, IN THE YEARS BEFORE 16967 THE IDF HAD
OFTEN CROSSED THE ARMISTICE LINE INTO THE WEST BANK TO
QUELL HOSTILE ELEMENTS THREATENING SECURITY.

14. VANCE HAD SAID THAT ISRAEL SHOULD PORPOSE "AN EQUIVALENT"
TO THE REFERENDUM, DAYAN TOLD HIS OFFICIALS.

15. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION FROM A DEPARTMENT HEAD, DAYAN
ANSWERED THAT THE U.S. DID NOT APPEAR TO RULE OUT ISRAEL'S
PLAN FOR WEST BANK AUTONOMY, NOR THE FOUR-SIDED COMMITTEE
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ENVISAGED TO MEET AFTER FIVE YEARS TO SUGGEST CHANGES IN
THE ADMINISTRATION. ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN AND THE MEMBERS
OF THE AUTONOMOUS COUNCIL WOULD FORM THAT

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COMMITTEE.

16. THE MINISTER NOTED THAT IN THE WORKING PAPER HE HAD DRAFTED WITH VANCE IN WASHINGTON LAST SEPTEMBER (BEFORE THE PEACE INITIATIVE BY EGYPTIAN PRESIDEN ANWAR SADAT) THE IDEA OF ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN AND THE WEST BANK LEADERS DISCUSSING THE FATE OF THE AREA HAD BEEN AGREED UPON. THE U.S. STILL TOOK A CONSTRUCTIVE STAND ON THAT PART OF THE WORKING PAPER, HE STATED.

17. HE AND VANCE HAD GONE INTO DETAIL WITH REGARD TO THE ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE SINAI, DAYAN CONTINUED, AS WELL AS THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEMILITARIZATION, THE NEED TO MAINTAIN ISRAELI MILITARY AIRFIELDS, AND THE DEMARCATION OF MILITARY BUFFER ZONES.

17. IN THEIR DISCUSSION OF FREE MOVEMENT FOR ISRAELI INTO THE WEST BANK AND FOR ARABS INTO ISRAEL FROM THE AUTONOMOUS ARAB AREA, THEY HAD MENTIONED THAT CURRENTLY 60,000 WEST BANKERS AND GAZANS ENTER ISRAEL DAILY TO WORK. ONE MILLION ARABS LIVE IN JUDEA, SAMARIA AND THE GAZA STRIP, AND THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO ENJOY THE RIGHT TO ENTER ISRAEL, BUT IN ADDITION THE PROBLEM OF ARAB REFUGEES NOW IN OTHER LANDS ENTERING THE AUTONOMOUS ZONE WOULD HAVE TO BE HAMMERED OUT.

18. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WOULD EXERT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO RELATE TO THE PROBLEM OF THE RETURN OF ARAB REFUGEES IN THE CONTEXT OF A PEACE AGREEMENT, DAYAN WARNED.

19. THE MINISTER BELIEVED THAT THE DIFFICULTIES PREDICTED WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE OF JERUSALEM HAD BEEN GREATLY EX-AGGERATED. AT ALL EVENTS, THE CITY WOULD REMAIN UNIFIED,
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HE NOTED.

20. DAYAN EXPLAINED THAT ISRAEL HAD ABONDONED THE AVENUE OF DIALOGUE WITH EGYPT OVER THE PROPOSED DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND CHOSEN THE APPROACH OF TACKLING SUBSTANCE, BECAUSE THE HEAVY PRESSURE TO GET JORDAN INVOLVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD GIVEN THE DEBATE OVER THE PRINCIPLES A PARTICULAR DIRECTION PREVENTING PROGRESS AND AGREEMENT.

21. DAYAN PRAISED VANCE FOR HIS "OPEN, WISE AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH." END TEXT
LEWIS

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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2773295
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
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TAGS: PEPR, MPOL, OVIP, IS, US, EG, JO, (DAYAN, MOSHE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8e663aa3-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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